1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

843 From the time that a child is born and even before its birth, it and its mother are subjected to a mass of interdictions or tapus. One could not even leave on the road, where the pregnant woman was apt to pass, the least filth, the least debris, for fear of the great harm to her and to her child.

Should an inmate of a house, in which there was a woman with child, go out at night and return, he had to chew *noni* leaves as he approached and spit them about in front of the house before entering. Thus were evil spirits, called *fanaua,* prevented from entering the house with a person and so being free to enter the woman and subsequently kill her and her child. [776] *Fanaua* were evil female demons who entered the bodies of women, causing them to swell as in pregnancy and killing both mothers and children at the time when delivery should take place. (See Spirits.)

844 [343] A special house called the *fa'e taina* was built on the same platform with the sleeping house, or near it. Into this, the mother retired at a time sufficiently in advance of the expected delivery to make sure that it should not occur by accident in the sleeping house. If such accident did occur, the sleeping house would have to suffer the fate of the *fa'e taina,* which was burned. Modern informants say that the father stayed in the *fa'e taina* with the mother, particularly at night, on account of the danger from evil spirits, *vehine hae* being supposed to steal both mother and child. The natives say that anyone could enter the *fa'e taina.* Nowadays at the time of birth, the mother stays in such a house from a few days to a few weeks. Garcia says (14, pp. 74-5) that the child was kept here with the mother for several weeks, sometimes for several months, and further, that even the family could enter only with a mass of ceremonies.

Birth is so rare in the Marquesas nowadays that I never had the opportunity of investigating first-hand any of the practices surrounding it, except the building of a birth house, for no child was ever born in any locality in which I was at the time staying. As has been said, the mother retired into the birth house, which was prepared well in advance, sometime before delivery was expected. When the labor began, female relatives and frequently the husband aided her. If labor was severe, the husband would raise her to a squatting position and climb upon her back, pressing on her upper abdomen with his knees. If there was danger that the child would be born feet first, assistants beat upon anything available, hoping that by making this great din, they would bring about a normal birth. One informant said that only female relatives of the woman could aid her, [759] because of the *tapu* on blood. If she had no female relatives, she was left alone. There were no midwives. Langsdorff says (18, pp. 151-2): "A large piece of cloth which they make from the paper mulberry tree is

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though [587] this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly ap- [585] proved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 837 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [768] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death [776] as *vehine hae,* or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

war but were used only for thrusting, but this is contradicted by Porter's description just given. The sling, *maka*, made of sennit, hair, or woven grass, was a most important weapon for the warrior (fig. 12, *d*); it was carried bound on his head or on his hands when not in use. Sling stones *(ke'a pehi hua)* were oval stones specially selected for their size, polished by rubbing, and carried in a net suspended from the waist (24, p. 87). *Kahuka ke'a* were selected stones used for throwing with the hand—the accuracy of natives today in hitting the mark with a stone is astonishing. A weapon called *ake henua* consisted of a round piece of wood, pointed at both ends, carried attached to the warrior's wrist by means of a string passed around its center. According to my informant on Nuku Hiva, this weapon, which was thrown at the enemy in battle, was carried only by war leaders.

War Rites

While the local tribal god was the deity to whom sacrifices were actually offered, Tu was the patron of war on both Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva, all those taking part in the ceremonial associated with war—that is, the inspirational priest, the ceremonial priest, and the temple assistants (and possibly the warriors)—were known as *ati* Tu (*ati*, relations, or people of; Tu, god of war) (7).

The duties of inspirational and ceremonial priests in war were various. According to Pēre Jean (19) they fasted seven days before beginning a great war. It was the function of the inspirational priest to inform the chief as to whether the tribal god was favorable to plans for war, and it was he who demanded human sacrifices in the name of the god. It appears that some inspirational priests accompanied the war party to the scene of action, while others were in the habit of remaining at the sacred place during the engagement. So far as I know, however, the ceremonial priest never accompanied the warriors. When a great war was planned, the inspirational priest consulted his god as to whether he were in favor and how many victims were required. If the god were favorable victims must first be sought to be offered in the rite which preceded going to war. Those who bore the victims to the feast place were covered with green leaves torn in small strips. As they went, the carriers from time to time cried out altogether: "N. . . ., grant us the defeat of M. . . ." When they had arrived at the sacred place of the god invoked, they cried: "N. . ., here is a victim, your present, grant us defeat of M. . . ." The god responded through the mouth of his inspirational priest, saying *"Ua hika"* (They are defeated) (7).

Before the fighters went to the warriors' house, they bathed in the sea. This made them *tapu*, removing any influences due to association

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

other paraphernalia, and the house in which was located the shrine used in the fishing rites. Secreted by being buried in the ground were the stone fish gods (*tiki*). At Ta'a Oa there was a stone platform on which the rites were performed, and the *tiki* were buried in it when not in use.

At Atu Ona the fishermen's sacred precincts were near the beach, midway between the present position of the pond and the gendarme's house. The place was last used in about 1880. The most important structure in it was the shrine (*oho au pu'e*), a large house devoted to chanting the *pu'e* in connection with the fishing rites. This house was so *tapu* that only the chief fisherman, who performed the rites, could enter. Inside were a small staging (*fata'a*) that served as an altar and two parallel rows of peeled fau stakes (*koufau*) wrapped with cloth and ornamented with coconut leaves which were woven around them. During the rites the stone image of the fishing god was placed midway between these two rows. The net was kept in another house (*oho au upena*), which was sacred. There were about ten other buildings in which the fishermen slept while there, cooked their food, and so on. The canoes were lodged in sheds (*oho au vaka*). I was told that the sleeping houses, the ceremonial house, and the house for storing the nets were all elevated on short posts with roofs coming to the floor on either side, ends closed, and a rectangular door in one end. The precincts as a whole were *tapu* to women.

Gods of Fishing and Religious Rites

Te Fatu Moana (*te*, the; *fatu*, master; *moana*, sea—the same as *Tana-oa*) was the principal god of the sea. Tupaaveko and Hahatai were the gods invoked by *peata* (a large fish) fishers, Avehie and Tohea by fishers of the ray (*haha'ua*), Aamoko by fishers of the tortoise (*honu*), Puhai by those who fished swimming with a line. Hahati was the patron of fishers in general. Anamaha, Puovo, and Eia Toke'e' were gods of fish nets. Moetai (*moe*, sleep; *tai*, sea) sent good winds (4), but Tana-oa was also god of the winds.

The small island of Fatu Uku, northeast of Hiva Oa, used to be a favorite fishing place for Pua Ma'u natives. There are coral reefs about the island, and fish are very plentiful. Hence the island was sacred to Tana-oa, god of the sea; fishermen used to land there and, on a stone platform built for sacrifice and consecrated to this god, made offerings of chickens and pigs' heads.

Religious rites connected with fishing appear to have been performed entirely at the shrine in the fishermen's precincts, never at the tribal temple.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

who made the cord. If it was a plentiful catch, there was general distribution after the makers of the cord had received their share.

Fishing at Pua Ma'u

The following descriptions of fishing at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, were obtained by Linton (20):

The sacred place of the fishermen in Pua Ma'u was named Mahia, and stood on the site of the present leper settlement. It consisted of two or more small houses built on high platforms which are now destroyed. The god of this sacred place was named Ke'eomana, but the sacred place contained no images of any sort. There was in Mata Fenua[8] a human-shaped figure (*tiki*), which was believed to be very ancient, that assisted in the capture of turtles. A pig's head was offered to this after turtles had been caught. None of the informants questioned had heard of fish-shaped images, or of throwing images into the sea and having them return of their own accord, as in the Atu Ona story. Only two men, fisher-*tuhuna*, lived at Mahia constantly. These served the god Ke'eomana and superintended turtle fishing and fishing for feasts. Ordinary fishing was done by all the natives when they wished.

When a chief desired to give a feast, he brought food to the fisher-*tuhuna*, and asked them to go and fish for him. The men of the village would come to the sacred place a short time afterward and say to the *tuhuna*, "Come and go fishing." All would then eat of the food sent by the chief. This food was *tapu* to women. Immediately after pushing off, the canoes would form in line while the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three chants with responses, said to be the same three sung on the return. The fishing place was Mata Fenua, and the fishermen went armed in case of attack, the weapons used being reserved for this and *tapu* at other times.

On arrival in Mata Fenua a large oven was dug, and each night the day's catch was cooked in this oven, the fish already cooked being left in it. The party remained in Mata Fenua eight days. On the ninth day the oven was emptied and the fish were packed in the canoes. On the tenth day the party returned.

On arrival at the village all the inhabitants, men, women and children, came down to the shore to welcome them, bringing food which was held up for them to see. Before landing the canoes formed in line, and the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three songs[9]. These songs, Matike, the last of the fisher-*tuhuna*, taught to my informant for the price of one pig.

After this ceremony, the canoes went ashore and all the people assisted in dragging them up on the beach and in carrying the fish up to the feast place. The first canoe to land was that containing the singer, who went at once to pay his respects to the chief and was formally thanked by him.

Special Methods of Fishing

Turtle fishing

In turtle fishing, the proceeding seems to have been much the same, except that the turtles were kept alive and the time of the stay in Mata

[8] The great promontory forming the eastern extremity of Hiva Oa. It was here that Pua Ma'u fishermen went to fish.

[9] The text of these chants will be published in another report. They are responsive chants, founded on mythological reference; the most important god addressed is Tanaoa, god of the sea and fishing.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

of drinks before the stupor and sleep, which were the desired results, would follow. A person under the influence of the drink was very highly sensitive to noise. According to Père Pierre (4) the god Papaiea was thought to possess a man at this time. This god was supposed to be irritated by noise, the violent trembling which sometimes affected the body of the *kava* drinker being caused by his agitation. To stop the trembling the man's stomach would be struck a blow or his wife would sit, nude, on his chest. It was believed that the contact of her body would frighten away the god.

A scaling off of the skin (*ha'a poha*) resulted from the excessive use of the beverage. According to natives, however, there were no lasting ill effects; the nervous effect and scaling of the skin passing off with a short period of abstinence. Dordillon gives *puhe kava* as the name of a kind of chant which was sung before *kava* was drunk (8). There was no formality connected with *kava* drinking in the Marquesas.

FESTIVALS

The term *ko'ina* is used in the Marquesas to apply to any festivity whether a small family feast or a great festival. The different types of *ko'ina* are indicated by the use of an adjective describing the purpose of the celebration, following the word *ko'ina*—thus, *ko'ina tupapa'u*, feast for the dead.

Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of importance to families or tribes. The completion of any new object of manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and social events. On the surface some *ko'ina* appear to be purely for amusement, as for example the chanting feasts that are described under Chants. But even these had actually definite purposes, such as the lauding or elevation of the individual for whom the chant was composed.

The great festivals were merely elaborated feasts. For the most part they celebrated in a chief's family the same incidents and occurrences that in private families were celebrated with smaller feasts; or they celebrated the completion of labor or a religious rite in which the tribe as a whole had been concerned. Tribal festivals may be grouped into several classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land; those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage, tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were made by different families in honor of those who had died some time before; and certain other religious festivals.

All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately associated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

765 that they appear wholly naked. This gives occasion to many violations of decorum, or at least what in Europe would be esteemed so; but they are, on these occasions, considered as perfectly allowable, and contribute much to the entertainment of the people.

. . . Cabri assured us that only those girls, wives, and widows danced whose husbands or lovers had been taken prisoners or conquered in combat, and that on these occasions they cut their skins with little stones, considering the dancing as a token of trouble and sorrow. When we consider that they are obliged to appear naked, contrary to the usual custom, and that they are made objects of sport and mockery to the people, it does indeed appear very probable that the dancing is imposed upon them as a sort of penance (18, pp. 158-159).

Deification Festivals

769 776 The greatest of all feasts were the memorial festivals celebrated long after the actual death of chiefs and chiefesses, inspirational priests, or ceremonial priests for the purpose of deifying their spirits. The fact that these were not celebrated until long after the death appears to have been due to two things—first, to the time required for preparation; secondly, to the necessity of waiting for such celebrations till a time of plenty. These festivals, with the rites that immediately followed the death of such great personages, constituted deification rites, having as their object the elevation of the spirits in the next world, giving them power, and thereby increasing the abundance of food and of human offspring in this world. For the spirits that were thus elevated were virtually the tribal gods, who were looked upon as the source of all earthly and human fertility. During the preparation of such festivals and the celebration of them, war was strictly forbidden. All tribes, whether friends or enemies, joined together in the celebration of these rites. The descriptions given below show clearly that these memorial festivals were feasts in honor of spirits of the dead and at the same time rites to forward fertility and generation. Chants, chiefly *uta*, or love songs, were sung; pantomimic performances connected with child-bearing and death were enacted; and nude dancing with sexual abandon was a prominent feature. In all the celebrations youthful libertines, called *ka'ioi*, played a prominent part.

Memorial Festivals for Priests

According to Père Pierre (4), three great types of festivals were celebrated in honor of deceased priests. The first was the *ko'ika oke*, the second, the *ko'ika vaihopu*, and the third, the *ko'ika u'upua*. These were given at different periods following the death.

Garcia (14, pp. 117-118) writes that the first memorial feast was celebrated one moon after the death and the next was celebrated at the end of six moons, lasting from eight to thirty days, depending upon the opulence of the family of the deceased. It is my understanding that memorial

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke*, which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Père Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu*, which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the 776 *ko'ika vaihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized particularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina heana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human vic-266 tims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married.

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Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no description of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei maka-maka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *hoto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men.

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Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes,

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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

793 766 776 the hair, and so on, the object of this rite being the deification, or elevation in power, of the spirit of the dead priest. Great memorial festivals were held in honor of dead priests long after their decease. (See Festivals.)

THE CEREMONIAL PRIEST—TUHUNA O'ONO

793 The priest who presided over the ceremonial of the tribe was the *tuhuna o'ono* (*o'ono*, chants) or *tuhuka o'oko*. To direct and lead the ceremonial at public rites, and particularly the chanting which was an important part of them, was the chief function of this priest. Again, it was the *tuhuna o'ono* who recited such chants as the *pu'e*, constituting the chief feature of the ceremonial associated with industries, the consecration of new things, and so on. It was he who had charge of the chanting in private rites, such as that at the time of death. Lastly, he was the professional who was employed to teach the sacred chants called *vavana*, *pu'e*, *tona pou*, etc., to sacred first-borns; who directed and led the chanting of these in the family feasts celebrated for that purpose; and who taught legends. In a word, the *tuhuna o'ono* was at once tribal ceremonial priest and bard.

The position of *tuhuna o'ono* tended to become heriditary as a result of the fact that such a professional would be most desirous of passing on his knowledge to a son, if the boy had the capacity for learning; or if he had no son he would be likely to pass on the knowledge to some near relative. But anyone who had the wherewithal could employ a *tuhuna o'ono* to teach his son, and anyone who had the intellectual ability required could demonstrate his skill as a bard and become a *tuhuna o'ono*. No woman ever became a ceremonial priest for the reason that the most sacred of the chants, the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and certain others of lesser importance, were *tapu* to women.

The manner of teaching chants and legends is described in the chapters covering those subjects. A future *tuhuna o'ono* was simply one of a group, who came together to be taught legends and chants by an old *tuhuna*. Showing keenness and intellectual ability, and desiring to become a *tuhuna o'ono*, a man would devote his time to perfecting himself in the recitation of legends, chants, and genealogies, and in increasing his knowledge, until he came to be recognized as an expert.

Before one actually became ceremonial priest for the tribe, he had to be consecrated by two ceremonies at the sacred place. Before these rites of consecration, initiates were subject to certain restrictions: they could not wear flower necklaces (*hei*), make use of saffron on their bodies, nor anoint their bodies or hair with oil; they were obliged to preserve continence, and to play no games; *popoi* with coconut milk and a fish called

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

dyed in the same way, was attached to the body to represent the neck and head. There were no legs, the figures being attached directly to the thatch on the ridge pole. At equal intervals between the *manu ku'a* were placed other ornaments called *hukihuki*, made of three small pieces of *opini* (?) wood sharpened at the ends and wrapped in white and red cloth. These ornaments like the *manu ku'a*, were placed at right angles to the ridge pole, long strips of white cloth being left pendant so that they hung down on either side of the roof. These ornaments with their pendant strips indicated that the house was *tapu*. It is said that they were never removed but when worn out were refurbished and replaced. They were the property of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*), and when he died were buried with him.

Light is shed upon the subject of these bird symbols (*manu ku'a*) and the priestly emblems (*hukihuki, opini*), by certain notes of Père Pierre (7), the gist of which is as follows: There were three orders of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three. In their honor the three cries (*hono*) were uttered by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifices were brought, and the three bundles of *fau* stems were erected upon the *me'ae* on the occasion of funerals of inspirational and ceremonial priests. Upon the occasion of such funeral rites the third of the gods of the sky, Te-hiti-kaupeka, was represented by coconut leaves braided, or by pieces of wood cut roughly, in the form of a bird, this emblem being the embodiment (or perhaps the messenger) of this god, which received the spirit of the deceased priest and conducted it to the sky. The *manu ku'a* would seem, then, to represent this bird messenger; and the *hukihuki* to be identified with the bundle of *fau* stems mentioned by Père Pierre.

Within the *fa'e tukau* was an *ananuu* (see Shrines). There were no images of any kind. Three pieces of wood spoken of as *papa* (plank or board), one apparently resting on the *ananuu*, the second midway up in the interior, were suspended or attached to the sides, and a third was hung beneath the ridge of the roof. On each of these, after writing had been introduced, the following legend was inscribed with the burnt end of a *fau* stick: *"Te ani puta ia Fai"* (The sky hole of Fai.) Before the introduction of writing, a symbol which stood for the same thing was used. It consisted of four designs (*tiki*) named *tava* enclosing an open space in the middle (see fig. 22, *b*) representing the cave—the sky hole of Fai—from which the god Fai was supposed to have brought fire. The very fragmentary account of how Fai sought fire in a cave or hole on top of the mountains is given in the section on myths and legends.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

782 The same rite, called *houtu*, which was performed at the sacred place to give the warriors of the tribe power and supremacy over their enemies, was performed also with the accompaniment of human sacrifice, in order to obtain breadfruit during famine. The chant was the same except for a few changes.

E N . . . a tuku mai te aki (ua) (N . . . grant us rain).
Eia to oe enana, e houtu, a hano i te mei (N . . . here is your victim, your present. Grant us breadfruit).

The god responded through the mouth of the inspirational priest, "You will have such abundance that the pigs will eat breadfruit lying on the ground." This rite as a whole was called *Houtu io te etua mea ha'a ueue mei* (Gift to the god to make breadfruit abundant).

GODS

776 Deities in the Marquesas may be grouped in the following classes: gods of myth and creation; departmental gods, including gods of nature and the elements, patrons of occupations, and gods of sickness; and tutelary deities, including personal, family, and tribal ancestral spirits. There was also what may be regarded as a class of demi-gods, including legendary heroes, and other characters. Such a classification must not be regarded as exact in the sense that every god will fit conveniently into one and only one class. For instance, Tana-oa is at one and the same time a mythical figure, a legendary hero, a god of the elements, and the patron of occupations. All gods of all classes were ancestral.

The term *etua* or *atua* was applied to all grades of supernatural beings included in the above classes, except the legendary characters whom the natives refer to, for the most part, as men (*enata*). The native does not distinguish supernatural and natural, as we do. *Atua* were simply beings with powers and qualities of the same kind as those of living men (*enata*), but greater. Some men and women were *atua* in this life; most became *atua* after death.

GODS OF CREATION

The first gods of creation are summed up in the *vavana* chant (see Sacred Chants). According to this chant the original gods who emerged from between the level above (*Papa una*) and the level beneath (*Papa a'o*) when they were thrust apart were: Atea, Tane, Tonofiti, Moepo, Tatihi, Topeua, Pupuke, Manatu, Tohuhi, Tahea, Mahoi Pii tini, Tiki ei, Aumia, Hakui, Moui, Pini, Kea, Tu, and Ono-tapu. Some of these gods are known to have had a definite and direct connection with human affairs—it is probable that if our knowledge were better, we should find that they all did. Others, such as Tiki, Tu, and Ono, were also prominent legendary

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

776

characters. Some of these names occur in the genealogies recounting the descent of man, others do not. (See Genealogy.)

Atea was the progenitor of all natives with Atanua as wife. With other female elements, or beings, as wives, he was likewise the progenitor of all animate and inanimate things. (See Genealogy.) His name never occurs in legends or in chants other than those of creation. He appears never to have been appealed to or propitiated with offerings. Atea represented a concept, rather than a god. An anlysis of the word furnishes some light with regard to the concept. Atea in the Marquesas corresponds to Wakea in Hawaii and Vatea in the Cook group. The "A" in *Atea* corresponds therefore, to Maori and Hawaiian *"wa,"* Tahitian and Samoan *"va,"* which have meanings in all these groups signifying space in one sense or another. *Atea* in Tahiti means widespread. *Tea* in the Marquesas means "white," "clear" (referring to water, for instance). *Atea* in the Marquesas should probably, therefore, be translated "white, or clear, space." The word for high noon was *o-atea-nui* (*o*, is; *nui*, great), which may be translated as "the time when *atea*, clear space, is great, or greatest." *Atea* may therefore be defined as the native name for the concept of clear space as a fructifying principle or force in generative creation.

Tu is a legendary character and the patron of war. His name does not appear in the genealogies.

Ono, as far as I have been able to discover, was of no importance in the actual worship—at least not under this name. A long legend recounts his exploits. According to this story, he defeated the god Tohetika, whose spirit thereupon became identified with his. Tohetika was worshipped throughout the group.

Tane was of little importance in the Marquesas. His name appears in legend and chants, but not in the genealogies. The sacred adz is associated with his name. The concepts of a male principle and light belong to Atea rather than to Tane here, though Tane was regarded as a "light" god in the sense that he was believed to have had light skin and hair and to have been the ancestor of the white race.

Tana-oa is mentioned elsewhere as god of the wind and sea and patron of fishing. Tiki is famous in legend as a trickster—according to one legend, he was ancestor of men through union with a heap of sand which he piled up on the seashore (Hina-mata-one). Pupuke and Manatu were patrons of the sacred chants. Pupuke was also god of the inspirational priest's house at Pua Ma'u. Tonofiti, who thrust apart the "level above" and the "level beneath," became a god of the underworld. Of the others of the "original gods," little is known except that their names appear in the sacred chants.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

DEPARTMENTAL GODS

776 According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the natives of the Marquesas believed in three gods of the sky: Teuutoka, Teuuhua, and Tehitikaupeka. These gods were represented as being without tattooing. Teuutoka was supposed never to have come upon the earth. Teuuhua came to teach mortals that there were three gods in the sky. Tehitikaupeka was represented in the form of a bird. It is said to have been in honor of these three gods that three cries (*hono*) were given by the ceremonial priest when human victims were presented. It was on account of this trinity that bundles of three *fau* sticks were set up on the temple platform on the occasion of the funerals of ceremonial and inspirational priests who had especial rights to divine honors. The subjects of Teuuhua were called Ati Teuuhua; those of Teuutoka, Ati Teuutoka. According to Père Pierre, no subjects were assigned to Tehitikaupeka, but at the funerals of priests the house of the dead was ornamented with braided coconut leaves or pieces of wood cut roughly in the shape of a bird in honor of this god, so that he would receive the spirit of the dead and conduct it to the sky.

Of the gods of nature and the elements, Tana-oa's (Taka-oa) name was the most prominent, since he was god of the sea and of the wind. He is referred to also as Te-fatu-moana (The-lord-of-the-sea). Atea was the god in the sense of being progenitor of all animate and inanimate things on the earth by various mothers or female elements, who may be regarded as the goddesses. For example, Uuhoa was the female progenitor of the coconut (*ehi*) by Atea. In like manner were the moons or months the children of Atea by different mothers. (See Genealogies.) Maui may be spoken of as a god of the elements in the sense that it was he who pulled up land from the sea. His grandfather Mahuike, living down below the earth, was the keeper of fire. Tupa appears to have been a god of rocks and mountains.

[805]

Tonofiti with his wife, Hanau, are given by Père Pierre (4) as the chief and chiefess of the lower regions. Ivieinui was the guardian of the gate to the upper of the lower region; Pahuamo, guardian of the gate of the middle Hades; Teikihaaotepo, guardian of the lower Hades. In legends from Hiva Oa, Te-upu-o-tonofiti is always spoken of as the chiefess of the lower world, where spirits of the dead resided.

[775]

Every occupation and activity had its deity. Thus, Tana-oa, who was god of the sea and winds, was the general patron of fishing. But each kind of fishing had its particular patron; and each tribal fishing industry had its special patrons, whose stone images were supposed to bring luck. Pupuke was the god of the sacred chanting, and of the inspirational

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

priest's house. Both of these gods are what we have named original gods. On the other hand, the chief patrons of canoe-building and wood-working were Hopekoutoki and Motuhaiki—legendary characters, who were probably famous canoe-builders of antiquity. Tu was patron of war: those performing the war rites were called Ati-Tu, family of Tu.

Every type of sickness had its special deity. Thus Anoano was the goddess who inflicted insanity on women and it was Te-oho-o-te-ku'a who attacked those afflicted with leprosy.

TUTELARY DEITIES

The tutelary tribal deities appear all to have been divinized chiefs and priests. In other words they were tribal ancestral spirits that had been elevated, through ritual of chanting and sacrifice, to the power of gods. They were supposed to reside in an indefinitely conceived region in the upper heavens. Although this is by no means an invariable rule, these tribal deities frequently had as the first part of their names *tau'a*—indicating that when alive they were inspirational priests. Such were the spirits invoked at the temples, which were actually tombs. For example, gods of different temples of the Na-iki in Atu Ona were Mokoio-tohotika, Tau'a-o-te-vehine, Tau'a-te-ihu-pu, and Maiaope. The last named deity appears as a human character, the inspirational priest of the Na-iki, in a legend which recounts a great war in which this tribe was defeated.

The tribal deities formed only one class of ancestral spirits, an upper class, so to speak. The ancestral spirits of lesser importance were those venerated in private worship. It was as embodiments of these ancestral spirits that bodies were temporarily mummified and skulls and other relics carefully preserved.

The adventures and characteristics of the most important legendary characters are illustrated by the legends[18]. The most prominent names in legend are: Maui, Mahuike, Fai, Tana'oa, Tupa, Hahapo'a, Hu'uti, Ono, Tohetika, Tiki Tu Kae, Tuapu'u, Akaui, Tiu, Kena, Pohu, Putio, Puainanoa, Puhi, and Hina.

Gods of different classes appear to have been conceived of as dwelling in various regions. Examples of this are furnished in the descriptions given above of the gods of the sky, the elements, the lower regions, and so on. Tribal ancestral deities lived in the sky, coming to their temples only when they entered the images named for them or their inspirational priests, while the ancestral spirits of lesser importance dwelt in the lower world (Havai'i).

[18] A large number of Marquesan legends have been collected. They will be published separately.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

776 The low mountain Kei Ani at the base of the valley now called Atu Ona, the ancient name of which was Vevau, was called Mouna-tauna-etua (mountain landing place of the gods). It is said that anciently all the gods from all the different islands of the group used at certain times to congregate at this mountain, the crest of which was regarded as a temple (*me'ae*). The probability of this valley and the surrounding region's having been the place of original settlement of the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas has been discussed in connection with settlement of the islands.

So far as I know, the original gods of creation were never represented artificially nor thought to be embodied in any visible object. Père Pierre (4) says that Tehitikaupeka, one of the gods of the sky, was represented in the form of a bird. All the images at the tribal temples, however, seems to have been representations of the tutelary tribal deities, which were ancestral. On the other hand one would suspect that there must have been images, or representation of some kind, of Tana-oa at the platforms on Fatu Uku where offerings were made to him by fishermen. The tutelary tribal deities may be said to have had also human embodiments in one sense, the inspirational priests having been regarded, at times of possession at least, as the actual living embodiments of the gods.

784 In every valley and bay there were certain things, products of land and sea, or sometimes colors, which the people were forbidden to touch. Père Pierre (4), who recorded a great number of these *tapu*, speaks of them as things "*tapu* or dedicated to the gods." *Tapu* in this way in Taiohae were chickens, freshwater eels, red pigs, and fish called *u'ua* (*tapu* almost everywhere), *tatue*, and *heheimanu*. These could be eaten only by the priests. (See Tapu.)

SPIRITS

SPIRITS OF HUMAN BEINGS

774 The separable soul or spirit of a human being was called *kuhane* or *uhane*. Such spirits were conceived of as being peculiar to human beings, never belonging to other animate or inanimate objects. Human spirits or souls manifested themselves as ghosts with most of the usual phenomena associated with such spectres. Ghosts of the living might be seen at night in dreams when the spirit of the dreamer was free from his body and wandering, but the ghosts of the recently dead were the more likely to be encountered. The ghost of a man who had died three weeks before our arrival at Atu Ona was supposed to be still wandering when we reached that valley, but was soon forgotten. Such ghosts linger about the familiar

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

possible that I misunderstood what was said by my informant. On Fatu Hiva there is a belief in spirits going to Havai'i by way of a spring called Te-vai-toetoe, which is located in a small valley on the east coast of the island. Several informants supported this evidence, which furnishes a distinct contrast to the beliefs held on the other islands.

THE SPIRIT WORLD

Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (*i a'o oa*, far below), described as a paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (*a'o*, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (*uka*, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by *vehine hae* (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-ɗa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them (19).

The chief of all Havai'i was Tonofiti (Tokohiti), whose wife was Fanau (Hanau). The guardian of the gate of the upper underworld was Ivieinui, whose wife was Uputonohiti. The guardian of the gate of the middle region was Pahuamo, and of the lowest of the underworlds, Teikiha'aotepo. These ruling deities and guardians had to be propitiated by means of gifts in order that the spirit might gain admittance to their realms.

There is no conception in the mind of the native today of Havai'i being a land whence their ancestors came—the people conceive of their human progenitors as having dwelt always in the Marquesas. Havai'i is a land of spirits below this world (*te ao ma'ama*) in which the living dwell. Havai'i is the land of the natives' ancestors in the sense that it is thought that the spirits of the dead dwell there, though no native conceives of his stock as having come from Havai'i, so far as I have learned. Men (*enata*) descended directly from the elements and deities that enacted the drama of generative creation. This drama is conceived of as having taken place in or about the region in which they now live.

In connection with these subjects, the phrases *i te tai i Havai'i* (in the seas, or times, of Havai'i) and *tai oa* (distant seas, or ancient times) were

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE SKY WORLD

To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal gods (*etua*), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests. This idea is illustrated in the story of Tikituao. (See Legends.) This conception obviously conflicts with that of a lower region or paradise for chiefs, which is described by Père Jean (19). Whether these two conceptions were reconciled in any way in the native mind, or whether there were two distinct beliefs belonging to different sections of the group, I have no way of knowing.

One native informant in Pua Ma'u said that according to some persons there are ten, according to others, four, and still others, three sky lands. She knew the names of three: the first and highest is Ani-tou-veohia; the second, Ani-kekeu; and the third, Ani-pupuke. According to Père Simeon (7), some said that there were seven heavens, other three. Legend describes a race, or people, called the Ati-touhua, who were supposed to live in some region in the sky. The character Te-tiki-vae-tahi (the one-legged *tiki*) was one of this race, the people of which were supposed to have only one arm and one leg. In the discussion of gods the three deities residing in the sky who seem to have had a very important connection with the tribal ceremonies are mentioned. (See Gods.)

EVIL SPIRITS

Fanaua

Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing them to swell as though with child, and killing them. The word *fanaua* is sometimes used today interchangeably with *vehine hae*, which means really evil phantom; but the two words stand for entirely distinct concepts and their usage now is probably due to confusion of thought on the part of the modern natives with regard to their old beliefs. It will be seen below that the word *fanaua* is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women. *Vehine hae* were never "familiar" spirits.

Tokai, also called *fanaua*, were sacred places where the bodies of women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful *fanaua*, there was a special attendant. Each *tokai* had its special presiding female demon (*fanaua*) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there. At Taiohae the sacred place was called after the name of the spirit to whom it was consecrated. Whether this was universal or

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

not I do not know; but all *tokai* had their names. According to Père Siméon (7) a forked tree was erected on the *tokai* and live chickens were hung in its branches. On some *tokai* there were images on the heads of which were stone caps (*mahu*), on top of which food offerings were placed. These *tokai* served as places for disposal of contaminated clothing and for objects of a defiling nature that had been associated with women.

According to Père Jean (19) fish and pigs' heads were suspended in the branches of the trees on *tokai*. On both Ua Pou and Ua Huka, it was ascertained that fishermen, especially, made offerings of fish at the *tokai*. I never learned, however, of any direct connection of these spirits with the fishing industry. It appears that the object of the offerings was to attract the evil spirits, thus keeping them from attacking women; and to propitiate them, so that they would not seek vengeance. Gifts for this purpose were called *ti au hanaua* (8). Dordillon characterizes these gifts as bait. These sacred places were especially forbidden to pregnant women, for the natives believed that the unborn child and probably the woman herself would die if she went upon such a sacred place.

Death of women in pregnancy appears always to have been very common in the Marquesas, and it is this natural phenomenon that is the basis of the *fanaua* belief. It was thought on Nuku Hiva that such spirits killed women by entering the womb when the woman was with child, or by entering it and merely giving her the appearance of being with child by causing a swelling. It is said that *fanaua* attacked in this way only women who were with child or who had previously borne children.

The following excellent notes regarding familiar spirits were gathered by Mr. Linton at Atu Ona. I doubt that the term *fanaua* was used broadly in ancient days to include the types of familiars here described. It is possible that the modern natives, some of whom believe in these things implicitly, may, nevertheless, be in some confusion with regard to the words that they use in describing them. The types of spirits having to do with the spirit phenomena described for the most part in this account in Linton's notes are referred to in the old manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries always as *etua*, and the use of *fanaua* is restricted implicity to the spirits associated with women dying in childbirth, described above. The account (20) is as follows:

> The spirits known as *fanaua* appear to be the souls of human beings who have died. They are always considered male and are known by personal names. Why some spirits should become *fanaua* could not be ascertained, but they vary in rank, those of chiefs being the most dangerous.
>
> *Fanaua* seem to have been of three classes: hereditary, personal and those controlled by the dead. The hereditary *fanaua* were the protectors of their female de-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

scendants and would repel attacks upon them by *fanaua* of less power. For example, the father of X——'s wife has become a *fanaua* and protects her from others. Such *fanaua* can be used to injure women outside the family.

Personal *fanaua* seem to have been more numerous than those of the preceding class. According to informants a *fanaua* of this type would roam over the group watching the women until he found one to his fancy. He would then attach himself to her "like a man in love," but would not injure her in any way. At her bidding he would attack other women and kill them. Y—— controlled a very powerful *fanaua* of this sort from Pua Ma'u.

Fanaua controlled by the dead were those who had killed some one. When a woman had been killed by a *fanaue* she seems to have exercised a control over it and was able to send it to kill other women. It was on this account that offerings were made at her tomb.

Fanaua were exclusively controlled by women, and could only attack women. When they attacked, they first bit[16] the head of the victim, then entered the body and caused it to swell up as if the woman were pregnant. From the time that they entered the woman her own personality was displaced and the *fanaua* spoke with her voice.

When a woman was thought to be attacked by a *fanaua*, her relatives chewed up *noni* leaves and put them in her ears and nose, asking, "Who are you?" This often had to be repeated many times, but finally the *fanaua* would speak and say: "I am so-and-so," giving his name and the name of the woman who had sent him. Offerings were then made to his family that he might be appeased. In some families a relative of the sick woman attacked and killed the sender of the *fanaua*. The proceedings where the *fanaua* was sent by a dead person could not be learned. The sender seems not to have been able to recall the *fanaua* even when she wished to.

One of the commonest uses of the *fanaua* was against personally imposed *tapu*. An example was given as follows: A chief might *tapu* for himself the land of a person of less power. If the wife of the real owner of the land had a *fanaua*, she would send it to attack the chief's wife. The *fanaua*, speaking through the lips of the chief's wife, would tell the chief to remove the *tapu* from the land. If he refused to do so, his wife would die.

In the belief of the control of a *fanaua* by the soul of the person killed by it, there seems to have been some idea of an attachment between the soul and the *fanaua* that was unpleasant to the departed spirit and could only be ended by indicating to the *fanaua* a new victim. This point could not be made clear. The belief in *fanaua* is still strong, and the natives dislike to speak of them.

A few additional notes were obtained from the woman referred to above as X—'s wife. If her fother had died of *fanaua*, the spirit of the *fanaua* was always regarded as being associated with her in such a way that any other women who stepped over her mat would be afflicted by the spirit. No one knew what became of the woman's own spirit when she was in a state of possession by a *fanaua*. Such possession was always temporary. If a woman were with child at the time when a *fanaua* took possession of her, she would die with the child in her. But common possession by the *fanaua* spirit for a woman not pregnant was not considered

[16] I am inclined to believe that this biting of the head is due to a misinterpretation of a pantomimic representation on the part of the informant of the way in which a spirit was thought to enter the open mouth of the person of whom it is taking possession.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

776 dangerous, unless the spirit were neglected. Such possession manifested itself in a trance state.

As I have said above, I believe that modern informants confuse the ancient belief in *fanaua* with the possession of individuals by familiar spirits (*etua*) for purposes of divination and oracular utterance. When a familiar chose a woman as its servant and thus itself became that woman's servant, she had to feed it with offerings, else it would kill her and seek another controller. A woman who was possessed by and possessed a familiar in this way could send it on commissions, to inflict death upon other women. When a woman had sent her familiar out on a commission, she could only recall it with very large gifts. Women thought to possess familiars often took advantage of the popular belief in order to extort gifts from others.

Vehine Hae

Vehine hae (wild women) is a term applied to fearful spirits in general. It was applied to phantoms of more or less indescribable nature and unknown origin. Other terms for such phantoms are *kaee* (8) and *etua peke cu mei* (god-angry-leaf-of-breadfruit). *Vehine hae* is most commonly applied to human specters or wandering ghosts. Again, in legends, the word is used for ogresses. As the name would imply, *vehine hae* are female evil spirits. A few instances have come to my notice, however, in which the word is applied to male spirits, but this is probably not a correct use of the term. *Vehine hae* manifested themselves in various ways. [824] Whistling of unknown origin was attributed to them and the squeaking sound made by the branches of *fau* trees moving slightly in the breeze or any other eerie sounds were thought to be their voices. Cries heard in the mountains after nightfall, and evil odors that assailed walkers at night were thought to come from these spirits. They were conceived of as being able to assume different forms: one was sometimes seen in the form of a cat, a dog, or a cow. At Taiohae it is believed that there is a *vehine hae* in the form of a woman, dressed always in white with long black hair, who is to be seen walking along a certain section of the waterfront at night. On account of the belief that these spirits were abroad at night, there is now, and probably has always been, very little promenading in the [513] Marquesas at night except by bright moonlight. Today it is fear of *vehine hae* that makes natives close up their houses as tightly as possible when they sleep.

According to Père Jean (19) spirits from Havai'i were supposed to come frequently upon the earth and were seen as *vehine hae*, appearing only at night. *Vehine hae*, seen always with the head and eyes turned

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

skyward, had very thin legs, and were so light that they scarcely touched the ground.

Such demons were supposed to inflict injury of some kind on adults; but it was children that needed most to be protected from them: they were thought to steal children, to inflict disease upon them, and to play such tricks as exchanging babies without the knowledge of the mothers. In the legends, *vehine hae* are described as cannibal ogresses who assumed the forms of lovely women at one moment and of hideous ogresses at another. As beautiful women they lured men to their caves, where, reverting to their true form, with eyes popping out and long tongue lapping down to the ground, they would devour their victims.

Etua Hae

Etua hae (wild gods) were spirits or phantoms which appeared not to have been conceived of as having human form. These spirits are said to be seen shooting across an open space, as for instance across a bay, like a streak of light, or as lights passing along the mountain ridges at night. They are apparently the same as the *kakainake*, which Dordillon (8) defines as fires like torches that the natives pretended to see on the mountains during night and took to be spirits.

TAPU

In the Marquesas, *tapu* meant primarily restricted or forbidden because sacred, not to be profaned, and secondly, defiled, spiritually dangerous. *Tapu* had as its fundamental meaning, sacred; thus, a first-born's head was *tapu*. The secondary meaning applied to rules to protect sacredness: thus, a woman's menstrual cloth was not *tapu*, but it was *tapu* to touch it. *Me'ie*, meaning literally a clear sky, was used as the word meaning not restricted, free, in contradistinction to *tapu*, restricted.

TAPU OF SACREDNESS

Sacredness of Persons

Males as a class, whether children or adults, were regarded as sacred in contradistinction to females as a class who were common. Chiefesses, by reason of their position, seem in this matter to have fallen in with the class of males rather than with females, in that their persons were regarded as sacred in the same way, and most of the ordinary restrictions of *tapu* for women were not applied to them. The question of sacredness of a chiefly is discussed in connection with the Chief and Chiefess.

The male first-born child was sacred beyond all other members of the family. Anything that came in contact with such a child had to be de-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

[755] escape. At other times the spirit was carried to the mouth—the *tau'a* would sometimes exhibit on his hand a blood spot which was supposed to be the blood of the crushed spirit. This trick was done by wounding the gum with the finger nail when the hand was carried to the mouth, and putting the blood on the palm of the hand. Père Jean (19) describes the hand of the practitioner as being placed on the painful region, closed suddenly, and then flung out behind him as though to throw the god away. Sometimes many evil spirits were driven out at once. The patient, on whom *hiko* was practiced, was called *hateanaka* or *hakanaka hiko*. In one ceremony witnessed by Père Jean, the patient lay covered with a large banana leaf. Nearby were several pieces of mysteriously woven coconut leaves. A priest and a priestess chanted during the rite. In another rite observed, it is said that the *tau'a* had before him some sort of image to which he chanted.

The manuscript of Dordillon (9) describes a case of *etua hiko* as follows: The *tau'a* anointed the head, face, and whole body of the sick person with herbs. He then said that the sickness had been sent by the tribal god, and asked the sick man if he had been on a *tapu* place. He named a goddess (doubtless the spirit of the sickness), saying, "It is Vehiehinui." Early in the morning the patient was taken to the stream. Herbs were put into a bowl filled with water. Hot stones were dropped in and, when the water was hot, the sick person sat on the bowl and was washed all over, the practitioner saying, "That is the water; it is Paiau (tribal god), it is Vehiehinui (a goddess); Tama-putona, Tama-kii-toto, Tama-pekeheu, Te-aki-tuehu. (?)" A piece of fau bark was then passed around the patient's waist and sawed back and forth; whereupon the evil spirit was thought to take its departure. The priest caught the god, crying, "What is this? Can you not leave him? Must you kill him? Let your friend go. You can take someone else." He then caught another, saying, "It is the god Atiu . . . It is a man eater."

The purpose of another class of rites was to heal the sick by frightening away the spirit causing the trouble. One of these witnessed by a man now living at Atu Ona, was performed in the following way: the [776 372] woman who was sick was laid, half naked, on *noni* leaves beside a fire; an old woman, half naked, ran around the fire waving her arms, her object being to drive the evil spirit into the fire where it would be consumed.

Père Pierre's manuscript (4) gives several examples of this type of ceremony. In one of them, a ditch was dug, leaves were thrown into it, and the sick person was placed on the leaves. Over the ditch, above the invalid, was tied a sort of grating of wicker work covered with coconut and banana leaves. Several green bamboos were split and thrown upon the

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most bare-faced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm. 1804. May.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

or of a *tapu* bird on the small island of Fatu Uku, the leg bones having been used (at least they are used for the instruments seen today), and according to Langsdorff, wing bones also. Marchand describes these *ta* as sometimes of tortoise-shell; Berchon adds, of fish bone; and Melville mentions sharks' teeth: but no trace of combs other than of human or bird bone remains today. The number of teeth varied from three to about twenty—Melville saw some with a single fine point—according to the size and use of the instrument. Melville says that some had points disposed in small figures, so that the whole design was printed at a single blow.

These bone combs were inserted into a slit in a piece of reed stalk, bamboo (10, p. 118), or ironwood (11, p. 110; 1, p. 109), six or seven inches long, which acted as a horizontal handle (see, however, 12, p. 51, note), held, while in use, in the left hand of the *tuhuna*. This was, as far as could be ascertained today, straight, though Melville speaks of curved ones. The baton, about three quarters of an inch thick and from a foot to eighteen inches long, was of hibiscus wood.

Although everything connected with the operation itself was extremely *tapu*, tattooers in general, in Nuku Hiva at least, being under the auspices of the god Hamatakee (2), Tahu being the god of the *tuhuna* and the *ka'ioi*, Pupuke of the *ou'a*, yet there are no records of opening ceremonies. The patient, clad only in a girdle, was simply laid upon the floor, arms and legs held by four *ou'a*. When a design had been sketched in charcoal upon the body, the *tuhuna*, or an assistant, held in his left hand the toothed hammer and a piece of tapa, with which by a dextrous twist of this hand he wiped away the blood as it flowed from the punctures made in the skin by the gentle tapping on the top of the comb with the baton held in the right hand. As he worked, he kept a sufficient supply of pigment upon the teeth by dipping two fingers of his right hand into the ink and rubbing them upon the comb. Garcia, Marchand, and Berchon agree with this procedure; but Langsdorff and Krusenstern declare that the punctures were made in the skin until the blood oozed out and then the dye was rubbed in. While the tapping went on, the operator chanted in rhythm to his strokes the following words to allay the pain of the *opou:*

Ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e,	It is struck, it is struck, it is struck,
Ua tuki-a, to tiki-e,	It is struck, your design,
Poparara[1] to tiki-e,	Tap-tapping your design,
O te tunane o te kui-a,	The brother of the mother,
O te tuehine o te kui-a,	The sister of the mother,
To'u tiki-e.	My design.

[1] Poparara is onomatopoetic, the sound of tapping.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child.

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.)

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

727 754 the killer would be captured and eaten in turn. She would dance before the killer and rain curses upon him. He was expected to treat this exhibition with an attitude of lofty scorn.

RELIGION

● 776 [771] In accordance with the rest of the culture, the religion of the Marquesans was highly organized with elaborate development of formal beliefs and rituals. Deities were of two sorts: first group included the great creation deities and the minor deities —personifications of natural forces, the sea, the rain, etc.; and the second, gods of human origin. Unfortunately most ethnological workers in Polynesia have been greatly and too exclusively interested in the great deities. Volumes have been written on the trinity of Polynesian gods, but it is my opinion that in most sections of Polynesia the great gods meant little or nothing to the average person. This was certainly so among the Marquesans. The creation gods and the gods of natural phenomenon were mentioned in chants and also in work rituals which were closely associated with their natural provinces. Thus, if a Marquesan was making a canoe, the god of the sea and of the winds would be invoked, and the spirit of the wood would be called upon to copulate with the master craftsman for the purpose of bringing forth the canoe. However, there were neither temples nor sacrifices to these natural gods, who were regarded as impersonal principles.

The second type of deities were gods of human origin; these were the active and important gods, for the natives felt that only human spirits were really interested in human beings. First of all, there were the tribal gods, who were the spirits of dead chiefs or inspirational priests. Then there were the gods of the trades, who were deified spirits of famous craftsmen. To understand these deities it is necessary to digress at this point to explain the native ideas on death and on the constitution of the individual and the soul.

774 According to the native belief, each living individual had a double or *uhane,* corresponding to our concept of the astral

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

body. This double was material, though of an extremely tenuous form of matter, and had the exact appearance of its living counterpart. During sleep this spirit left the body and wandered about freely, meeting the spirits of other sleeping individuals and conversing with them. Any transactions made during these conversations were considered valid and had to be fulfilled by the person on waking. These spirits were also seen by persons in the waking state, particularly by the priests, who frequently had to deal with straying spirits of the living.

At death the *uhane* left the body permanently. The natives believed that there was a whole series of upper and lower worlds to which the spirits of the dead went. Dead chiefs and priests of the higher order were deified by means of human sacrifices—ten human sacrifices, one for each of the ten parts of the body, were the necessary requirement for deification. These sacrifices had to be performed before the body was finally disposed of, thus giving the tribe a year or more in which to seize the captives and stage the ceremony. Persons who were sacrificed for deification ceased to have any existence as distinct individuals, since the soul of the dead chief or priest absorbed into itself the souls of the human sacrifices, and was in this way raised to superhuman power. The newly made god then rose to the sky world where dwelt the creation gods and the previously deified priests and chiefs. Such a god returned to the tribe frequently, not so much to punish his descendants as to demand sacrifices because he was hungry, or to aid them if they were in difficulty.

This deification of chiefs through human sacrifice had occurred well within the memory of a number of the old men with whom I talked during my stay in the islands. One man told me that he remembered the death of his chief about 1865 and the subsequent deification by the proper ritual. During the lifetime of the chief, his tribe had suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the tribe from the neighboring valley. After his spirit had been deified and his body disposed of, the chief's skull was placed on the prow of a war canoe in which his followers made a raid upon the enemy valley. They returned

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" The people asked that he take away the *nonos*, a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspirational priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the inspirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

have supernatural powers. They could fast for a month at a time, lie down on the water and go to sleep, see things happening at a distance, and make fatal curses. This latter ability was very useful, for the priest could take property from an individual just by the threat of cursing him if he did not hand over what the priest desired. The priest could also make a man his servant by approaching him and saying that he must serve him or he would die.

The priests demanded human sacrifices for their gods and kept things generally stirred up. At times of great possession, a high priest of a particular tribe would dress up in special costume and make a trip involving a circuit of the hostile tribes. He was protected from injury in enemy territory by the fact of his possession, which was respected by everyone. As he passed from one territory to another he would be possessed in turn by the dominant god of each locality, who would accompany him on his journey, and his *mana* would become stronger and stronger. When the priest returned to his own tribe, he would enter the sacred place and, in a fury of physical possession with appropriately wild gestures, would demand human sacrifices. Since he had been in a position to make a careful survey of enemy villages during his circuit, he could tell the warriors of the tribe just how to go about picking off captives in the tribes he had visited, so that these raids never failed.

The ceremonial priests, who were always male, made no pretense to inspiration but were considered skilled craftsmen in working with the gods. They knew all the rituals, sacred lore, and family genealogies. They presided at ceremonies, were called in to make charms and recite appropriate chants and rituals at the various individual life crises, and also instructed the children in the lore which it was proper for gentlefolk to know. They were the scholars of the community. The position of the ceremonial priest tended to be hereditary, as a father would try to pass on his craft to his son.

Each craft had its deity, a great *tuhunga* of the past. A man who made canoes would call upon the god of canoe makers, and

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

would often make an offering to the god before beginning his task. The *tuhunga* were also priests to the gods of their crafts, though they had little formal ritual and, except in the case of the fishermen, no sacred place.

Below the gods was another series of supernatural beings, the *vehini-hai,* or wild women. The natives were not clear as to whether or not these spirits were of human origin, but they did have human form. They were malevolent toward children, watching them continuously, sometimes merely making them sick and at other times stealing or eating them. They were also dangerous to young men. Appearing as beautiful women, the *vehini-hai* would present themselves to some charming young man in a lonely place and invite him to go along with them. If he complied, they would lead him to their caves, where they would turn back into ogresses and devour him. Occasionally however, the *vehini-hai,* instead of eating her victim, would try to establish him in an affectionate relationship, which was, needless to say, a very uncomfortable and dangerous position for the young man. The men who had encountered these *vehini-hai* said that they usually appeared as beautiful young girls, but that they were always hungry, and if one could steal glances at them when they were off guard, one could see their eyes shoot out and their long hungry tongues pop out and lick the ground. This was warning that one's associate was an ogress and not a lovely lady, and that it was time to get away.

Still another series of supernatural beings were the *fanaua.* They were the spirits of dead men who became the familiars of women, helping them and injuring other women at their bidding. They never operated against men. No woman had more than one *fanaua.* This spirit might be the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, i.e., a father, grandfather, or even some important member of the family several generations back. In such cases his relations with the woman were probably not on the basis of sexual attraction, although I could get no exact information on this point. The *fanaua* might also be a

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

nonrelative, a spirit who had fallen in love with the woman. After death her spirit was united with his, as in marriage, a relationship which might or might not be unpleasant to her. *Fanaua* of the second type seemed to be more numerous and more active, and more to be dreaded than those of the first.

The *fanaua* attacked other women at the bidding of his woman and also protected her from attacks of other *fanaua*. The techniques of *fanaua* attack were primarily connected with pregnancy. The *fanaua* might destroy the child in the womb (cases of neurotic symptoms of imaginary pregnancy were, as has been said, a fairly common phenomenon here) or cause the woman to die, during either pregnancy or childbirth. Practically all such deaths were explained on this basis.

The woman knew she had a *fanaua* by the fact that a spirit came to her in dreams, frequently of an erotic nature. Other people knew that she had a *fanaua* by observing what happened to women who antagonized her. Although the woman herself never announced the fact, the knowledge that she was being aided by a spirit spread around the community. The wife of my craft instructor had a *fanaua* of minor power, the spirit of her father, and other women did not fear her much; but the wife of the pastor had one who had been a paramount chief of the island of Tahu Ata some two hundred years before. This spirit was very powerful, and the pastor's wife was feared accordingly. The women were very reticent about the whole *fanaua* belief, probably because it was a source of great anxiety and mutual suspicion.

Offerings were made to living women who were known to have *fanaua* in order to keep the familiar from working harm. A woman who had a *fanaua* was welcomed by the males of the same household because such a familiar offered the most direct method for protection of property. The woman's familiar never operated against her husbands and could even be invoked to help them indirectly by attacking women of other households whose men had wronged them. In one instance, a chief had

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua,* they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died.

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud.

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a *fanaua's* victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

remote from the village, a small stone platform being erected over the grave. Men frequently made offerings at such places to placate the dead woman and prevent her from choosing a victim from their households.

Fear of women who died in childbirth and special burial rites for them were practically universal in Polynesia, but this was usually rationalized by reference to the jealousy and malevolence of the spirits of unborn children. These hated the living because they themselves had been defrauded of the pleasures of living. I believe that among the Marquesans this general Polynesian pattern had been reinterpreted to conform to local ideas. The whole pattern of *fanaua* seemed to be peculiar to the Marquesas. There were familiars and various forms of spirit possession nearly everywhere in Polynesia, but the relationship was usually established on some other basis.

The basic pattern of the *fanaua* beliefs was clear; women controlled male familiar spirits in two ways. One of these was through a kinship bond, which made it possible for a woman to control the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, but only if he offered himself voluntarily. The other method was that in which the woman maintained relations with the *fanaua* through her sexual attraction. This was also at the will of the male spirit, who fell in love with her. This relationship was comparable to the individual affairs which existed between adolescent males and females of the *kaioi* group. The woman's death, after which she became the wife of the *fanaua*, corresponded to the change in relationship which came with marriage and the founding of a household. As has been said before, if this permanent relationship proved unpleasant, she would try to persuade the *fanaua* to kill some other woman to take her place.

Magicians, as distinct from possessors of *fanaua*, might be either men or women. The magician also had to have a familiar spirit or spirits, but one became a magician either through election by a spirit or by studying magic, with the subsequent

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

acquisition of a spirit. In the latter case, the magician, after he had completed his training but before he began to practice, had to kill a close relative in the ascending generation by magical means. This relative could be either male or female, but the most effective way for a magician to acquire a powerful familiar was for him to kill his own mother. The magician dominated the spirit of the person he had killed and forced it to serve him. Magical familiars might be of either sex and could work against either sex. Magic might be performed either by sending the spirit directly to make the enemy sick or by using bait. Illnesses of pregnancy and childbirth were always ascribed to *fanaua* and never to malevolent magic. The use of bait followed a familiar magical pattern, the bait consisting of some of the individual's hair, or if this was impossible to obtain, a part of his clothing or some other object which had been in close contact with him. However, I was told by natives that in such practice one was not operating on a part of the personality of the victim, but rather giving the familiar spirit his scent, like putting a dog on the trail. A familiar thus put in touch with an object would then follow up the person to whom it belonged and injure or kill him. The attacking spirit would be called off by the magician if payment was made. It is interesting to note that there seemed to be no rituals in Marquesan magic to preserve work in progress from injury through the magic of rivals or to prevent the success of another person in his work. The presence of hostile magic was shown by sickness or death, not by work failure. If a work project, which usually had certain rituals connected with it, failed, it was because the worker had not done his magic correctly, not because of any fault in the magic itself.

One rather puzzling aspect of Marquesan magic was the complete absence of charms to be worn either for defense or to insure success in any activity. The whole idea of wearing charms appeared to be foreign to them. During the war I had become accustomed to wearing an identification tag around my neck and was still wearing it when I arrived in the islands. The

/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [799]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits,
lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature,
it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa,
hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is
doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During
a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife
was called upon to treat two young women who were con-
tinually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result
of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites.
The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally
resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy
burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by
the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback
riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to
treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody
discharge, in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and
had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door,
without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to
note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have
been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776]
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants
admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were
ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the